



British Colonialism's DAY OF DAMNATION

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CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ENDS

More arrests at Omaha

THE remaining members of Omaha Action who are still out of gaol decided to conclude the civil disobedience phase of the project last week.

Following the report in PN last week of ten arrests for trespassing on the Mead missile site near Omaha, Nebraska, further arrests have been made of the members of the non-violent project against nuclear missile policy.

Non-violent intervention—as distinct from merely trespassing—started on July 13 when Erica Enzer and John White waited on the road outside the site for the whole morning until they could stop an incoming construction truck.

When a truck finally arrived shortly after 1.0 p.m. they sat down in the road and refused to move, hoping for an opportunity to talk with the truck driver.

"Through this act," says Omaha Action, "they hoped to bring to drivers and others the realisation that although they might be unwilling to run over one or two people, they are willing to help construct a weapon capable of destroying millions."

The truck driver—Richard W. Deadman—stopped his Army truck a few feet from the protesters, who were then arrested for obstruction. John White refused to cooperate with his arrest.

Each pleaded guilty at the county courtroom to obstructing the road and was fined \$75 plus \$8 costs, which they declined to pay. They are therefore in gaol until about August 10.

Letters may be sent to them at: c/o Saunders County Gaol, Wahoo, Nebraska, USA.

John White, 21, became a pacifist while serving in the US Air Force in Korea. He was gaoled last year for his part in the

Cheyenne, Wyoming, missile base demonstration.

The same day, July 13, two other protesters, Bradford Lytle and Don Fortenberry, appeared before Federal Judge Richard E. Robinson.

After being "frisked" for concealed weapons by the Deputy Marshal, Brad Lytle made a statement about the Action, but after explaining civil disobedience and the "just war" theory he was urged by the Judge to complete his statement quickly because the Judge couldn't "waste the whole morning."

Full penalty

Bradford Lytle then went on to describe Gandhi's non-violent resistance techniques, but Judge Robinson again intervened, remarking that the group might better remove to India, since their admiration lay in that direction.

Bradford Lytle and Don Fortenberry were then each sentenced to the full penalty: six months in gaol and a \$500 fine.

They joined Karl Meyer in the Federal prison camp and hospital at Springfield, Missouri, where Bradford Lytle has already served a sentence as a conscientious objector.

Two further members of Omaha Action were arrested for trespassing on the site on July 16.

Ed Lazar pleaded guilty the following day and was also sentenced to six months' gaol and a \$500 fine. He declined to accept probation on condition that he kept away from military sites.

Neil Haworth pleaded not guilty and bond was set at \$2,500.



Arrested demonstrators at Mead missile base prepare for removal.

By Fanner Brockway, M.P.

Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom

FOR the first time in fifty years (if we exclude Suez) Africa has occupied the first place in the British political scene. Despite our home problems, despite anxiety about the Summit Conference, Africa has dominated Parliament, the Press and public interest.

British imperial policy has been exposed more deeply than at any time during this century, except perhaps following the Amritsar massacre in 1919, when General Dyer turned his machine guns on a defenceless Indian crowd, killing four hundred and wounding twelve hundred.

The devastating report of the Devlin Commission on events in Nyasaland, the inadequate findings of the Disciplinary Tribunal on the responsibility for deaths by beating of eleven Africans at Hola Camp in Kenya, and the Government's inept handling of the mounting crisis in Central Africa have stirred people profoundly.

The Government may for the moment ride the storm, but I believe this week will prove historic for Africa. British power, White power, can never recover from these blows.

It is an eloquent comment on this series of events that the appalling happenings at Hola seem relatively unimportant compared with the Nyasaland story and the Central African issue. Yet we cannot allow Hola to be forgotten.

The Coroner found that African prisoners were brutally killed. He condemned the plan of Mr. Cowan, the senior superintendent of Kenya prisons, by which they were to be forced to work. He was scathing in his condemnation of the shockingly misleading statement by the Kenya Government that the men had died after drinking water.

And the only response of Mr. Lennox-Boyd and the Kenya Government was to summon Mr. Sullivan, the superintendent of the detention camp, and Mr. Coutts, the assistant superintendent, to answer charges before a disciplinary tribunal! Mr. Cowan was simultaneously decorated with the MBE for his services to the Empire.

The disciplinary tribunal has vindicated Mr. Cowan, excused Mr. Coutts, and required Mr. Sullivan to retire, but with full pension rights. The most honourable action is the voluntary retirement of Mr. Lewis, Kenya's Commissioner of Prisons.

THE PLOT

What will Africans think of this demonstration of British "justice"? Suppose eleven Englishmen had been beaten to death in a London prison. Punishment would have been severe.

The most brazen rejection of responsibility is that of Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary. For three years he has refused our demands for an independent enquiry into conditions in Kenya's prisons and detention camps. If that enquiry had taken place, who can believe that the administration which led to the African deaths would have been allowed to continue?

At four o'clock on Thursday of last week the findings of the Hola Disciplinary Tribunal were published. At six o'clock the report of the Devlin Commission on Nyasaland was published. July 23rd was a new D Day. The Day of Damnation for British Colonialism.

The major effect of the report is to place the main responsibility for the charge against Dr. Banda and the African Congress of a murder plot, rejected by the Commission, on the shoulders of Mr. Lennox-Boyd and his Under-Secretary, Mr. Julian Amery. Mr. Justice Devlin and his colleagues suggest that neither Sir Robert Armitage, the Governor, nor his officials in Nyasaland seriously accepted the plot. Sir Robert is stated to have doubted the story of the plot as "secondhand, from inform-

ers." Eight days later he directed that "action should be taken to build up the full story of the plot." Why?

Because Mr. Lennox-Boyd and Mr. Amery had said in the House of Commons that there was a plot to murder Europeans, Asians and cooperating Africans, including wives and children. There was the need to produce a White Paper to justify this allegation.

It is true that Sir Robert Armitage now denies that he did not take the threats of murder seriously. But the members of the Devlin Commission were selected by Mr. Lennox-Boyd himself and they say categorically "we have rejected the evidence, such as it is, for the murder plot."

A second main conclusion of the report is the condemnation of the methods used in the repression which followed the Declaration of the Emergency. They say that "an aggressive and bullying attitude was part of the treatment, and lack of submission to it meant hitting and beating." They say that "some of these illegalities were expressly or impliedly authorised from the top." It is sufficient comment that 51 Africans were killed and, although many Europeans lived unprotected in isolated spots, not one White person died.

One illustration of the methods of the troops and police may be quoted. Seventy-five prisoners were put in the hold of a ship on Lake Nyasa. The hold was 50 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 12 feet high, and it contained 84 tons of cement as well as the human beings! Some of the men were kept in the hold for three days and nights. There was one privy, there were no blankets. It should remain in our memory as the Black Hold of Nyasa.

The report provides one crumb of consolation for Mr. Lennox-Boyd and the Governor. It says that the state of unrest in Nyasaland justified the declaration of an Emergency. That can be only a very small crumb. The state of unrest was due to the failure of the Government to carry out its promises of constitutional changes giving Africans greater representation in the Legislature.

It is inconceivable that Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Governor, and Mr. Amery should not resign after the publication of this damning report. The support given them by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, widens the responsibility. If it had any sense of honour, the Government itself would resign. Only so can the prestige of Britain be saved in Africa and the world.

Finally, the broader issue of Central Africa. The Government has reached agreement with Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, that a Commission composed of British, Central African, and Commonwealth members should prepare recommendations for the Constitutional review next year. It can be said confidently that not a single African representative enjoying the confidence of his people will serve on this Commission. It will be received in Central Africa with the same cry as greeted the Simon Commission which went to India in 1928: "Go Home!"

THE MAN AT THE BENCH

Jack Shepherd reviews

Craftsman and Quaker, by Leslie Baily. Allen and Unwin, 15s.

THERE is something magic and mystical about craftsmanship. You will never convince me otherwise. I am sure, because to this day I dare not sharpen a pencil or fix a fuse wire without dreading dire consequences. I missed something in not knowing James Thomas Baily, who died in 1957.

During the trouble in Hungary in 1956, a lorry being used by Quakers on medical relief-work was damaged in an accident. A Hungarian garage proprietor came to look at the wreckage, and saw the red and black star. "You are Quakers?" he asked. "In the First World War I knew a Quaker. I was then a prisoner in the Isle of Man. He gave me tools, and something to do. He was a good man."

In 1947 a visitor to an internment camp in Germany was astonished to find a group of Nazis (or ex-Nazis) studying Quakerism.

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URGENT

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How? Why? The leader of the group had been a prisoner on the Isle of Man 30 years before. Between the wars, he admitted, he had fallen for the Hitler philosophy. But now, disillusioned and in search of a good faith he had remembered a man called Baily, a Quaker, on the Isle of Man.

Lots of people did know J. T. B., and were better for it.

To the boy who grew up in a carpenter's shop in a Sheffield slum during the eighties the sweet smell of sawdust was familiar, and significant. So it was to the boy Jesus, in a Nazareth lane. It was a bond of understanding denied to many of us, but which J. T. B. put to fullest use.

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Leslie Baily has written the story of his father in "Craftsman and Quaker." Here was a man of the salt of the earth, and such men are not often chronicled. We are grateful for this book. It is a gesture of faith in a doubting world.

As a small boy, James Thomas Baily depended for entertainment on the one-man-band in the street, and the mummers' play. He lived to see his own boys become expert in broadcasting and television. He had no advantages and no pretensions, yet he travelled widely and influenced numberless people. He began teaching handicrafts with absolutely no paper qualifications, yet he did more than any other one person to raise such teaching towards its rightful status in this country. (William Penn was urging the same in 1693.) He had little more than what is known as an "elementary education," yet he was much sought after by council and colonels to straighten out human tragedies in prison camps. He never claimed to be more than a workman at his bench, yet he was called in to establish industries and economies.

And while, in 1915, Horatio Bottomley was leading a vilification campaign against Baily, high military officers were testifying that only Baily could seem to bring a note of sanity into situations that were beyond them.

AFRICA SHOWS HER NEW SELF-RELIANCE

By Fenner Brockway, MP

THE new self-reliance in Africa has been shown recently in three ways. Firstly, in the recognition which the Government of Ghana has given to the exiled Government in Cairo. This has led to a rupture of diplomatic relations between France and Ghana. Ghana's action is the more noteworthy because the Algerians are Arabs. Africa's new solidarity extends to the whole continent, irrespective of race.

Secondly in the spreading protests against the testing of France's nuclear bomb in the Sahara. The depth of feeling is shown by the protest from the Federal Government of Nigeria, even though foreign affairs are still in Britain's hands. The independent Governments of Ghana and the Republic of Guinea have also protested.

Thirdly, in the support given to the boycott of goods from the Union of South Africa. The trade union movement in Ghana will refuse to unload or handle any articles from South Africa. Julius Nyerere, the leader of the all-powerful Tanganyika African National Union, has endorsed the boycott. It will spread.

One is doubtful about initiating boycotts because they hurt the very people one wants to help. But this boycott has been initiated by the Africans in South Africa. They have counted the cost. In these circumstances I have no doubt we should support them.

He was nurtured in a working-class society which still believed that the British were the ordained top-dogs of the world. "In the eighties," writes Leslie Baily, "it was jingoism that was the opiate of the people." But J. T. B. himself wrote: "I count it my good fortune that the years when I grew from childhood to manhood were those of a great awakening of the British conscience."

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From his father and grandfather and the smell of sawdust he had inherited the conviction that perfection in craftsmanship was something God-like. He never lost this conviction.

The boy was impressed by the superb perfection of Lincoln Cathedral, but at a sermon in the City Temple he heard a popular preacher cry "God damn the Sultan!" The beauty of great churches told him of some inner mystery, but Sam the Carter, an old soldier, entertained him to anecdotes of the Sudan War. "We fell on the fuzzy-wuzzies like murder, and them as was left fled from us!"

The puzzled young man thought of "The noblest towers in Christendom" . . . and he couldn't understand how the leaders of the Church, who cherished such monuments in stone for the glory of the Creator, should fail to denounce the mutilation and annihilation of God's own most glorious creation, and should even bless the instruments of mutilation and death."

Later he became a Quaker, and this book tells the story of his full life, both ordinary and remarkable, through England, America, Borstal, Isle of Man, Germany, Ireland and wherever there was trouble and ordinary people needed help.

One day, in his retirement, he stood before a war memorial in St. Albans. He ran his eye down the list of names on it. There were the names of more than 80 boys he had taught craftsmanship over the years...

"Hilliard . . . Pellatt . . . Hiskett . . . Peters . . . Massey . . . Hunt . . . I read down the lists until my eyes filled with tears. I saw again the boyish hands, handling saw and plane, clumsily at first then with efficiency and joy as increasing skill poured through their fingers. How evil a fate that turned those hands to destructive ends."

NUCLEAR WEAPONS DANGER

World's neighbourhood organisations should protest

NEIGHBOURHOOD organisations throughout the world will be requested by the National Federation of Community Associations to protest against nuclear weapons and promote positive action for peace.

The Fourteenth Annual General Meeting of the National Federation carried by 84 votes to 33 a resolution stating:

"That in view of the certainty of the harmful effects of radio activity on future generations and of the immediate dangers to the present generation in all parts of the world occasioned by the use, and even by the training in the use, of nuclear weapons, and also of the apparent inability of Governments to arrive at peaceful understanding with one another, the Council of the NFCA should aim at securing a declaration of protest from neighbourhood organisations wherever they exist throughout the world and should seek to promote positive action for world peace."

The resolution had already been adopted by the following spring area conferences: Yorkshire, East Midlands, London and Home Counties and South-East Joint Conference, West Midlands and South-West, and had been amended by the North-West Conference.

The theme of the AGM which was addressed by Sir John Wolfenden, CBE, was "Present Change and Future Action."

'Nine months' amply justified

From Our Special Correspondent

DAVID BELL'S previous conviction for obstructing the constables of Norfolk was referred to by his counsel, Mr. Brian Capstick, at London Quarter Sessions Appeals Court on July 21.

W. David Bell had been registered by both Local and Appellate CO Tribunals as a conscientious objector conditionally upon his undertaking full-time civil work specified by the Tribunal for a period of two years and sixty days. David Bell had refused to comply with this condition and had been sentenced to nine months' imprisonment by the Lambeth magistrate on June 2, 1959. He had appealed against the sentence as excessive.

During the hearing the previous conviction had been disclosed on the record and Mr. Capstick explained that it had been in connection with the demonstration against a rocket site at Swaffham, and was one more indication of David Bell's sincerity. Mr. Capstick could not see what purpose so severe a sentence as nine months' imprisonment could achieve; it would not change David Bell's views and, with conscription coming to an end, it would have little value as a deterrent to others. He thought it would have to have been a very serious crime indeed to have justified so heavy a sentence had it come to Quarter Sessions originally.

The Deputy Chairman, Mr. Francis H. Cassells, T.D., conferred for only a few moments with the two other members of the Appeals Committee before announcing that the appeal was dismissed and that all they intended to say in this case was that in their view the sentence was "amply justified in all the circumstances."

FOOTNOTE: *The Pacifist Youth Action Group is to hold a week-long day and night picket during the second week in August of the prison where David Bell is held. During the rest of his confinement they will hold a weekly 24-hour picket. See Classified Advertisements.*

New Director for American Committee on Africa

Homer Jack, Who is Chairman of Omaha Action, became on July 1 the Associate Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa which he helped to found six years ago. He had been a secretary of the Chicago Council against Race Discrimination and since 1948 a minister of the Unitarian Church of Evanston, Illinois.

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Africa prepares to support boycott

THE growing international support for the South African National Congress initiated boycott of South African exports is already causing consternation in government circles there.

Following official Jamaican support, trade unions in Ghana, Kenya, Tanganyika, British Guiana and Barbados have decided to back the boycott. Recently Tom Mboya, the Kenya Africa leader, announced that Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar trade unions would hold a conference in about a month to consider details of the boycott.

It is clear that Africa is rallying to the support of the boycott and that it has not finished spreading yet.

In Britain a programme of market picketing which began several weeks ago is to be continued. Goods to be boycotted include South African fruit, wines, liqueurs and tinned goods.

Father Huddlestone, Connon Collins, Michael Scott, Fenner Brockway, MP, John Stonehouse, MP, Max Gluckman, the Universities and Left Review Club, and the Fabian Commonwealth Bureau have agreed to sponsor the boycott in Britain, while assistance has so far been given or promised by the Political Committee of the London Co-operative Society; two trades councils, St. Pancras and Holborn, and Arundel, Bognor Regis and District; two trade unions: the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians, and the Tobacco Workers Union; several local Labour Parties; the St. Albans Co-op. Party Council; and the Hampstead Peace Council.

The Committee of African Organisations which is organising the boycott say that people can help by raising the issue wherever feasible and particularly in the Co-operative and Labour Party movement.

POTATO BOYCOTT

In South Africa itself the African potato boycott which was launched on June 26 in protest against the farm slave labour system for Africans convicted of pass offences, has proved so successful that it has been extended and will now end on August 4.

To date, the Potato Board has spent £500,000 buying up surplus stocks and trying to export them. The Chamber of Industries is viewing the matter with grave concern.

Strong patrols of police stood by when the internal and external boycott was launched on June 26 in Durban where a crowd of 20,000 Africans and Indians listened to speeches.

Soon after dusk on the outskirts of the town bonfires were lit around which the Africans danced to the tune of "Afrika," the national song of the Africa National Congress. Great care, however, was taken by the ANC to see that its appeal for complete non-violence was maintained and the bonfire areas were regularly inspected by its officials to see that no damage to property was caused.

'War may start any time'

—U.S. ADMIRAL

THE United States Navy has ordered all its aircraft patrolling within range of Communist territory to have all their guns in place and ready to operate at any time.

The Pacific Fleet commander, Admiral H. G. Hopwood, said last week that patrols would continue to be carried out through international air space unless ordered to the contrary because of the "possibility that hostilities between the Western Powers and Sino-Soviet block may commence at any time."

The child photograph on the new PPU pamphlet against war published in last week's PN was by Michael Peto.

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Marches, rallies, exhibitions, films

CND PLANS BUSY WEEK

THREE-DAY FAST IN STEVENAGE

A GIGANTIC programme of marches, rallies, exhibitions and films is to form the basis of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's National Nuclear Disarmament Week from September 13 to 20.

Over 150 meetings have so far been arranged for national speaking teams which will tour the country. The Architects' Group which suggested the week are mass-producing exhibitions most of which have already been allocated to local groups, while every relevant film has already been booked.

Some of the principal towns where rallies and marches have been arranged for Saturday, Sept. 19, include: Edinburgh, Hull, Blackpool, Tyneside and Teeside, Birmingham, Cardiff, Bristol, Bournemouth, Norwich, Colchester and Crawley.

Meetings will be held in London and Glasgow on the following day.

In Stevenage New Town where an April demonstration was held by the Direct Action Committee against the production

of nuclear missiles in the town the CND group is to start the week with a three-day fast of penance. The group hope to draw in support from the churches and trade unions for the fast and contribute the money saved to assist the World Refugee Year campaign.

The aims of the fast are threefold:

1. To awaken the conscience of the town, the economy of which is largely dependent on missile production;
2. To stimulate a greater dedication of the forces in the town opposed to nuclear weapons;
3. To help alleviate the sufferings of one of the results of war—the refugees.

The Stevenage group will also be holding rallies and marches and, in common with a number of other groups, market stalls at which CND literature will be sold.

A vast quantity of publicity material—stickers, leaflets, posters and special broadsheets—is being produced by CND for the Week together with recruiting forms for collecting names.

BRIAN COOPER REPORTS ON THE BIGGEST UNDERGRAD ORGANISATION

Nuclear disarmament in Oxford University

A FEW weeks ago a clergyman stopped me in the streets of Oxford and enquired the meaning of the ND badge I was wearing: "I see so many of them about these days," he remarked. There are certainly plenty of students wearing the insignia of the anti-bomb campaign in Oxford now, for in only two terms since its foundation in January the Campaign in Oxford University for Nuclear Disarmament has enrolled close on a thousand members.

It is now numerically the biggest of all the undergrad organisations, having overtaken the Labour and Tory clubs. Much of its support is drawn from Labour and Liberal ranks (both these political societies in the university have voted for a unilateral ND policy for Britain), a small number of Tory radical sympathisers, some politically non-aligned artists and litterateurs, and from Christians alive to the "prophetic" nature of ND protest. Historian A. J. P. Taylor is the Campaign's University Senior Member.

OUND presents its case to the University

through public meetings and small discussion groups in members' college rooms—always the most fertile of rendezvous—as well as by anti-war film shows. It works closely with the Oxford town campaign also: recently a Territorial Army and Civil Defence exercise was picketed and leafleted without any incidents, though a virtually inevitable outward sales-resistance was felt. Such discussions as took place with those engaged on the exercise revealed a sense of hopeless acceptance of the nuclear future, coupled with acknowledgement of the inadequacy of present CD measures.

Director cancels programme

When Mr. Gaitskell addressed a Labour gathering within the university, OUND mounted a silent picket and sent him a letter challenging him with the unilateral disarmament case.

The Director of the Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Research Establishment, Dr. Nyman Levin, upon seeing OUND members carrying placards outside a building in Oxford where he was booked to give an address recently, declined to fulfil his programme. He gave no reason.

Problems of East and West discussed by Russian and British peace delegates

SIX Russian delegates from the Soviet Peace Committee who have been in Britain as guests of British peace organisations rounded off their stay with a weekend of frank discussion with British peace leaders at the Quaker centre at Charney Manor, in Berkshire.

British and Russian participants told the Press in an agreed statement that the recognition of the fundamental differences in the ideologies and economic and political structure of the USSR and Britain, as well as of the peace organisations, had made discussions possible in which criticisms were brought forward in a friendly spirit and with a mutual desire to reach a clearer understanding and a firmer basis for co-operation. They felt that in the past 12 months relations between East and West had tended to improve rather than deteriorate.

After discussing the fears and apprehensions which exist between East and West and endanger peace, the British and Russian representatives went on to examine the question of Germany and European security and to discuss the United Nations, disarmament, freedom and democracy, and co-existence.

They all recognised "that in considering

the problems which divide East and West it was always essential to try to see the difficulties from the point of view of the other side."

At a press conference in London, the leader of the Russian delegation, Mr. Surkov, said in reply to a question that the Soviet Peace Committee did not criticise the policy of its Government.

"There is no disagreement among us on policy," he explained.

Before they left London the Soviet delegates were each handed gifts from their hosts, presented by Michael Tippett, the British composer and President of the Peace Pledge Union, at an informal gathering at the Friends International Centre.

Copies of the agreed statement may be obtained from the Friends Peace Committee, Euston Road, N.W.1, by sending name and address and enclosing 6d. in stamps.

The seven British host organisations were the National Peace Council, the Friends Peace Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Peace Pledge Union, the Women's International League, the British Peace Committee and Science for Peace. Last year these organisations sent a joint delegation to the Soviet Union.

PEACE NEWS, July 31, 1959—3

At No. 5

FIRST overseas visitor to our new premises at 5 Caledonian Road was one of Vinoba Bhave's Bhoojan workers, Vimala Thakar. She told us how much her Bhoojan group looked forward to the arrival of Peace News in the village where they were working and of one villager who always pressed for an immediate translation of the news the paper brought of pacifist activities in other countries.



Her delight was unfeigned when she heard how our new premises were purchased and for the most part adapted and re-decorated through gifts of money, labour and materials from supporters of the paper.

We rather fear that the Peace News Fund, which meets our publishing deficit and has to raise £2,500 by the end of the year has suffered as a result of the concentrated effort to acquire new premises. The Fund is running at £200 behind the total at this time last year. We need to have this deficit made up as quickly as possible. Can you help us today?

THE EDITOR

Contributions since July 17: £27 2s. 4d.
Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £598 3s.
Still needed: £1,902.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

The picketing of politicians and scientists at Oxford will continue elsewhere during the summer as OUND members participate in National Nuclear Disarmament Week; OUND has also urged those of its supporters who feel able, to back the various Suffolk and Northants projects of the Direct Action Committee. But OUND rightly sees its special responsibilities as a university group to the whole national ND effort as not being confined to picketing and direct action, valuable those these are.

A university group must contribute to the thinking and policy of a movement. To this end OUND has called together a group of Oxford economists to work on the problem of "Economic Aspects of the Cold War and the Arms Race." The main issue here is how far Britain's economy, geared as it is to nuclear military preparedness, would be shaken and dislocated if we renounced the H-bomb. Would there be unemployment on a wide scale? Would USA use economic sanctions? What positive plans can we in ND offer for a smooth changeover of the economy to a peace-time basis? Our critics rightly ask these questions, and they have a right to know our answers.

Economists' autumn report

OUND's plan to publish the report of the Oxford economists, by the autumn, will surely prove a very useful contribution to our total national reply to this kind of question. (The economists' preliminary research convinces them that ND policies certainly do not entail economic disaster in terms of unemployment, but they declare that their findings depend on the by no means certain assumption that the government is only spending on nuclear weapons what it says it is spending, explicitly.)

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will not be yet another of those oh-so-frequent ephemeral Oxford societies—it has come to stay. Its following is very significant, both numerically—the equivalent of one in seven among the students—and socially. Large numbers of membership cards were sold last term in colleges traditionally regarded as bastions of the Establishment and the conservative outlook.

The strength and rapid expansion of OUND is yet another evidence of a new awakening of political consciousness among many thinking young people whose yearnings for a better national and world order refuse to be cramped by the sterile formulae and glacial postures of traditional so-called "statesmanship."

THE EVIL WITHIN

By Sybil Morrison

And if it is a despot you would throner see first that his throne within you is destroyed.—The Prophet. Kahil Gibran.

IT is perhaps forgotten, and certainly to many young people unknown, that in the early days of the Second World War, along with the rations and the gas masks, the black-out and the identity cards, there was introduced a new regulation, under which it was an offence to use words which might be construed as being likely to cause what was known as "alarm and despondency."

Convicted under this charge there was in Holloway, when I was there in 1940, a French woman, married to a Britisher and therefore a British subject. She had lived in this country for more than 20 years, and was very much attached to it, but when she learned that her nephew had been killed at Oran, where the British Navy had sunk the French fleet to prevent its capture by Germany after the capitulation of France, she had, in her local public house, spoken loudly enough, and angrily enough, for some listener to inform upon her.

*

It may seem strange now, but in those dark days perfectly kind, good-natured Britishers were quite willing to hurry to the police with scraps of conversation. In some ways it was understandable since towns and countryside were plastered with warnings that "careless talk" might lose us the war, and that Hitler's spies were everywhere.

In the name of patriotism this woman was reported. She was arrested, charged with causing "alarm and despondency," and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Her plea that it was only natural that she should be extremely upset by Britain's callous treatment of an ally, and that her feelings for the country of her birth were enhanced by the death of a much-loved nephew, was apparently ignored, or, if it were understood, carried no weight with the magistrate who pronounced so heavy a sentence.

She was very far from being a pacifist; on the contrary, she was all for fighting "the dirty Nazis," but like many others both then and now, she failed to see that if a nation engages in war, it also engages to have no ordinary human feelings, and must put military security before loyalty to defeated allies, and expediency before morals; it must put aside humanity and good will and replace these qualities with cruelty and hatred.

This is war, and to eradicate its evils, war itself must be destroyed.

140 Disarmament resolutions

OVER one-third of the resolutions submitted for the annual conference of the British Labour Party are concerned with disarmament. The preliminary agenda, published last Monday, includes 140 such resolutions.

The conference will be held in Blackpool from October 5 to 9, and the closing day for amendments to resolutions is August 21.

ARMS INSPECTION IMPOSSIBLE

—say Great Powers

NO ALTERNATIVE TO TRUST

By Christopher Farley

NO FOOLPROOF MEANS OF INSPECTION FOR A DISARMAMENT TREATY EXISTS. NOR IS ONE EVER LIKELY TO BE INVENTED.

"Scientific opinion is agreed that there is no prospect of finding any satisfactory method of detecting the existence of concealed stocks of nuclear weapons," Mr. John Profumo, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, told the House of Commons on July 13.

All the Nuclear Powers were agreed on this, he said, and there was, therefore, no useful purpose in proposing to set up a UN Committee to study the problem.

"In fact," he added, "the only instrument with which one could find a nuclear weapon in a crate would be a screwdriver."

This was by no means the first time that such statements have been made. Mr. Profumo himself made a similar announcement on March 2.

But nobody ever seems to take the impossibility of inspection into consideration—not even Mr. Profumo. Only five minutes after he had explained to the Commons this month the impossibility of discovering hidden stockpiles, he made this declaration of policy :

"Her Majesty's Government are doing everything possible to help to negotiate a comprehensive disarmament plan, but this, as does any other plan for arms limitation or nuclear-free zones, must, I am sure, depend on an adequate system of inspection."

And what is an adequate system of inspection, one that can satisfy men preoccupied with military security? There is no such thing.

Every Government, every "responsible" politician, indeed almost any influential group that puts forward proposals for disarmament or arms limitation bases these on the idea of control through inspection. The "non-nuclear club" theory of the British Labour Party is the latest example.

But in a major aspect of arms inspection—nuclear stockpiles—there is no method of detecting concealed weapons.

* * *

This is almost certainly true of other weapons. Botulinus Toxin "is so deadly," Dr. Brock Chisholm said earlier this year, "that 16 ounces of it properly distributed could kill everyone in the world." What inspectors are going to find 16 ounces in a continent?

Deception at Geneva

IF inspection cannot provide security against military aggression or preparations, how do the statesmen and "realistic" politicians reconcile their grandiose plans with the facts?

They have never been pressed closely on this issue—not even at the Geneva conference on the ending of tests. For inspection plans there recognise that the "policing" of nuclear explosions is a very different matter from controlled disarmament.

No major technical problem remains on tracking nuclear tests. The calculated deceptions of the US Atomic Energy Authority and other bodies concerning the "impossibility" of detecting subterranean tests are, of course, quite phoney and based upon considerations of military advantage.

But the emphasis in this Geneva confer-

They will remember Hiroshima

PEACE organisations and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament groups throughout the country are commemorating August 6 the anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima.

The London youth group of the CND will be holding a 24-hour picket of Downing St. and two lunch-time poster parades, one through the West-End and the other through the City.

The Campaign itself will publish a memorial notice in The Times and has asked local CND groups to place similar notices in their local press, and to call upon local authorities to send telegrams of condolence to Hiroshima. The Greenwich and Blackheath CND group will be holding a demonstration on Woolwich Common and a public meeting.

At 6 p.m. a special service, arranged by the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends and Christian Action, will be held in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Panadura, in Ceylon, is one of the many towns in Asia where Hiroshima Day is celebrated. Last year Dr. W. S. Fernando, Ceylon's most active pacifist, organised celebrations in the Town Hall and read out messages from the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, and a number of other officials. Speakers there placed great stress on the part education could play in building up a strong peace movement, and there was, of course, a good deal of emphasis on the study of non-violence.

If they meet in a Town Hall again this week, this will be the eighth year running that these meetings have been held.

Nuclear disarmament and the PPU

Peace News Reporter

A ONE-DAY conference is to be held in London on September 13 for Peace Pledge Union members who are supporting or working with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament or the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War. The decision by the PPU Executive to call the conference arises out of a small informal meeting called by the General Secretary, Stuart Morris, recently.

"We want to implement as far as possible all the resolutions adopted by the Peace Pledge Union AGM," Stuart Morris told Peace News last week. "We have been anxious that no member should feel that there was any discrimination against those who believe it to be right to work in and through the Direct Action Committee or CND. I have been authorised to make arrangements for the conference, the purpose of which is to give all PPU members concerned with Direct Action or CND the opportunity to discuss together their common problems and how they can best promote the cause of pacifism in such ways."

The conference will also discuss developments in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the full implications for pacifists of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

"It has been suggested," Stuart Morris added, "that one result of the conference might be the setting up of a small continuation committee which could be represented on a liaison committee together with representatives of the PPU Campaign Committee and Direct Action for consultation and, where possible, simultaneous or joint action."

It is not intended that the conference should discuss the differences of opinion which exist within the PPU as to the most appropriate forms of activity for pacifists, but that it should be confined to those who believe it to be right to work with CND or the Direct Action Committee.

Application for admission tickets should be sent to Stuart Morris at PPU headquarters, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. It is hoped to announce the venue of the conference very shortly.

ence has been placed very heavily upon finding suitable inspection methods, as if these might act as a pilot project for a possible arms treaty.

The actual ending of tests has naturally been made of purely secondary importance. How could the Great Powers, who have been throwing all this poison into the atmosphere and claiming that it does no harm, now say that it is vitally important to put an end to testing?

Treaty enforcement

BUT the Geneva conference has faced one aspect of control with frank realism: the problem of treaty enforcement.

It is not generally realised that the Treaty gradually being drafted at Geneva will be without sanctions.

There will be no enforcement clause. If any Government were to resort to nuclear testing it would be confronted solely with the moral weight of world opinion.

Politicians' dilemma

TWO facts become clear: a system of arms control that meets the needs of power politicians cannot be invented; and in the nuclear age it is extremely difficult to take military action against a Power breaking any arms treaty.

These facts point in the same direction: the politician has been overtaken by the technological facts of the nuclear age because they undermine all his basic assumptions.

There is no alternative but disarmament on a basis of plain trust.

Now is the time for people to begin to face and prepare for the possible consequences of such unilateral action.

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MEETINGS

Picket sympathy Davide Bell, imprisoned conscientious objector, all 2nd week August, contact PYAG c/o Peace News, (TER, 8248.)

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PERSONAL

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

LITERATURE

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Cteee., Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive eight days before publication.

2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street, nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Thursday, August 6: LONDON, S.E.3. 7 p.m. Whitfield Mount, Goffers Rd. Open-air mtg. and march. "Hiroshima Day." Benn Levy. C.N.

Saturday, 8: LONDON, W.4. 3 p.m. Turnham Green. Open-air mtg. CND. Saturday, 15, to Saturday, 22: SUMMER CONFERENCE at Springfield St. Mary, Oxford. Details from Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1.

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